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Somewhere to Go

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Who's Alienated and Why

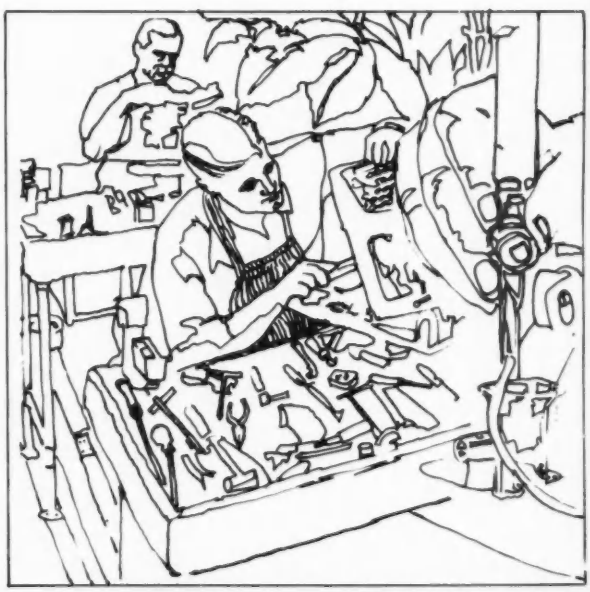
Words, like clothing styles, have their vogue. And in the world of semantic high fashion, the word alienation is definitely in. It is especially popular in discussions of workers and work attitudes. We are told that millions of workers are fed up with stultifying jobs. These men and women want more challenge, more meaning in their work lives. Money is said to be of secondary importance. Some observers say we are on the brink—or maybe in the midst—of a revolution in work attitudes, the way work is performed, and the relationships between workers and employers.

One response to this unrest—which is said to exist in the factory, in the office, and to some degree even in the executive suite—is a variety of efforts to redesign jobs and to alter work relationships. The *Work in America* study, produced under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, examined in considerable detail worker alienation and the steps some firms are taking to alleviate it. The May issue of MANPOWER included excerpts from the study describing a few of the job redesign experiments.

To some commentators, job redesign and its attendant concepts constitute a breakthrough, a fundamental change in work arrangements and how they are arrived at. Not so, say Sar Levitan and William Johnston. They say workers have been demanding and participating in job redesign for decades, if not longer. Often, the drawing board for redesigning jobs has been the collective bargaining table. The changes in pay, working hours, productivity standards, safety requirements, and other job factors negotiated by unions inevitably result in job redesign, Levitan and Johnston argue. And, they insist when it comes to what workers want most from their jobs, better pay still is the name of the game.

To Levitan and Johnston, job redesign is not an idea whose time has come, but rather the continuation of a historical trend. They present their case for this premise in *Changes in Work: More Evolution Than Revolution,* beginning on page 2 in this issue of MANPOWER.

Ellis Rottman



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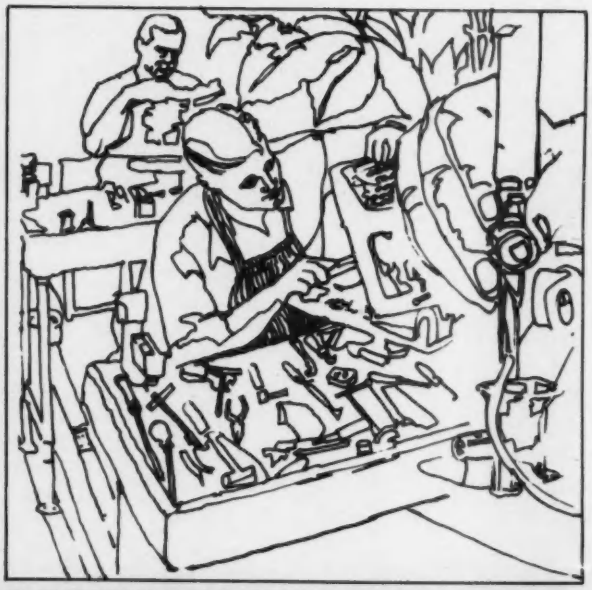

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Changes in Work: More Evolution Than Revolution

Job Redesign Seen Having Minor Impact Compared to Ongoing Changes in the Workplace

by Sar Levitan and William Johnston

Forecasters of the future of work in society, proceeding from similar facts, have foreseen the coming of both catastrophe and Utopia. Man, some futurists assert, is on the verge of a more or less complete release from the necessity to work. Machines of ever increasing sophistication promise to accomplish the tasks which once required the human hand and mind. Depending on the predisposition of the analyst, this either opens the gates on limitless vistas for the fulfillment of human potentialities or raises the lid on a Pandora's box of alienation, boredom, and hedonism.

Recently, a corps of modern-day Jeremiahs has proclaimed that alienation and its concomitants are winning out. According to these prophets, the work force is becoming increasingly dissatisfied with stultifying and dehumanizing tasks. Today's workers are better educated and better paid than previous generations, and they have expectations which far exceed unchallenging factory and office routines, these analysts say. They believe that work must be redesigned to provide meaningful tasks for all if we are to stave off a social upheaval by restless workers.

It is indisputable that education and affluence have affected individual attitudes toward work. Over the past century, there has been a staggering increase in real income in this country. In constant dollars, Americans spent more in 1970 on alcoholic beverages than the total of all goods and services purchased a century ago, and personal expenditures for recreation were almost twice the gross national product for 1870.

While workers' expectations have risen in step with this phenomenal increase in income, the fact remains that the economic bonds which historically have tied most men to their work are now loosened. Many are now able to trade marginal boosts in income for increased leisure, a choice that was impossible as long as wages hovered near subsistence levels.

Workers today also are better educated. The ratio of illiterates in the population declined from 1 in 5 in 1870 to 1 in 100 a century later, and the number of college degrees granted yearly increased from 10,000 to 1 million. Blue-collar workers especially have improved their educational status: Manual workers averaged only a ninth-grade education in 1948; today, the typical worker has completed high school. Much of this gain in education has occurred independently of the jobs workers perform. In manufacturing industries, for example, a worker may have a job much like his father's—but in most cases, his education has gone far beyond his father's, and into areas of study that have little or no application to industrial production. This formal education has been supplemented by the mass media. Easy access to newspapers, radio, and television has expanded the knowledge and the horizons of workers who formerly were ignorant of events occurring outside their own milieu.

According to some observers, these changes also are key elements in worker discontent. Whereas there was concern 10 years ago that machines might soon replace men, the central issue today is that men may soon refuse to replace machines. Some analysts predict a growing mismatch between better

Sar Levitan is director of the George Washington University's Center for Manpower Policy Studies and William Johnston is a research associate at the Center. This article is based on their book, WORK IS HERE TO STAY, ALAS, to be published this fall by the Olympus Publishing Co. Preparation of the book was supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

educated, better paid workers, and routine, meaningless jobs. They warn that unless something is done to improve the quality of work, a crisis of discontent may ensue. The evidence usually cited as proof of deteriorating work attitudes consists of surveys showing a decline in work satisfaction, stories of individuals who have dropped out of society, and industrial reports of sabotage, absenteeism, turnover, and strikes over working conditions.

Reports of upheaval in the workplace due to boredom generally spotlight the young worker. Much of the significance seen in this worker's reported discontents is tied to the fact that the young are increasing as a percentage of the work force. Only 16 percent of all workers were under 24 in 1960. But by 1972, as postwar babies came of age, 21 percent of the labor force were under this age. Moreover, younger workers were concentrated in the lowest paid, lowest skilled jobs, thus probably exacerbating any work dissatisfactions they may have had.

Data Do Not Support Crisis Argument

However, the hard data on employment do not strongly support arguments that there is an upcoming crisis. Statistics fail to back up pronouncements that large numbers of persons are dropping out of the labor force. Analyses of quit rates indicate that fluctuations are almost entirely explained by the availability of jobs. Data on absenteeism, although sparse, reveal only a statistically insignificant recent increase.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, wages still are the predominant issue in collective bargaining. Critical union demands, measured by the issues over which strikes are called, have centered on wages since 1964. In 1971, almost 3 of every 4 days lost in strikes were the result of wage or benefit disputes. In the last 5 years, wage-related issues consistently accounted for more than half of all work stoppages.

Virtually every other measure of worker behavior indicates that money is still dearest to the hearts of most workers. In decisions concerning where and when to work, income is the most important variable. Workers with low incomes are more likely to change jobs. Those with high retirement benefits are more likely to retire early. Workers in low-paying industries quit their jobs more often, and wives in low-income families go to work more often.

Though the case for spiraling work dissatisfaction may not be well justified by the data, discussion of the issue has aroused a great deal of interest in efforts aimed at restructuring work. Within recent years, job redesign has been tried by a number of sophisticated personnel managers, and many more have paid lip service to the idea. None of their innovations is revolutionary, though sometimes this has been implied. The sociologists, psychologists, and assorted business consultants who have sponsored most of the recent research and discussion on the topic of job redesign are, in fact, latecomers to these problems. Unions and management have been dealing with the underlying issues for as long as they have been in existence.

The programs being put forth by the various reformers can be reduced to a few common elements: Individuals should be given maximum freedom to control their work and to develop their skills; jobs should be designed to give each person a series of tasks which are varied, challenging, and meaningful in terms of the end product; the status differentials which have separated supervisors and "workers" should largely be eliminated and replaced by a team concept with an emphasis on shared goals.

In practice, current job redesign efforts have concentrated on relatively limited innovations. Because these plans have been formulated and instituted by management, the direct goals have been increases in productivity and profit rather than improvement of worker morale for its own sake. By and large, the reforms have been successful on these terms. Lower employee turnover and absentee rates, lower manpower requirements, and lower production costs resulting from less waste of materials and higher quality workmanship have accounted for these gains.

If such positive results have not precipitated a stampede to reform work generally, there are good reasons. First, the experiments are not extensive enough or lengthy enough to guarantee success over an extended period. Any sort of innovation, it can be argued, will temporarily raise productivity.

Second, there are narrow limits to how much control and profit managements will share with their employees. At some point, employee decisionmaking and profit sharing will butt heads with prerogatives which owners and managers consider their own.

Third, restructuring jobs to give workers broad and varied tasks may be at odds with the fundamental requirements of efficient production. Specialization of functions—the bane of the humanist critics of work—still is enormously productive. Changes which go far to reduce specialization are likely to generate costs in efficiency, wages, and profits which are unacceptable to management.

Most important, the basic limit to work redesign is that society requires that certain tasks be done. While organizations can be repatterned, individuals shuffled about, and duties

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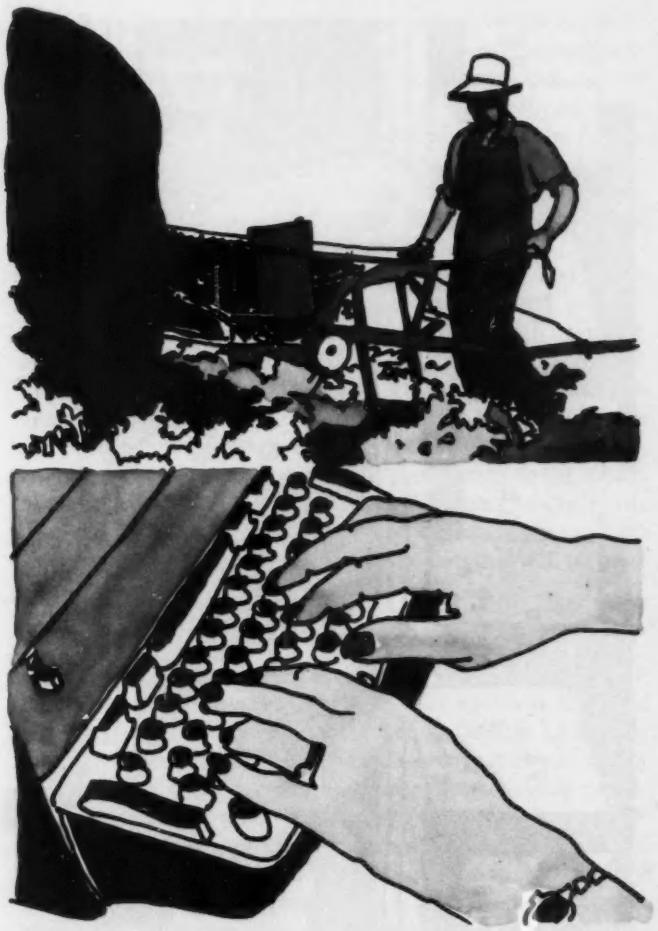


reassigned, the tasks themselves must be performed.

Typists type, welders weld, and auto workers fabricate cars. The quality of these jobs and the efficiency with which they can be performed are determined far less by supervisory techniques, working conditions, or organizational tables than by the nature of the tasks themselves. All the redesign in the world cannot make dull tasks exciting or inject meaning into meaningless jobs. To be sure, automation may eliminate some kinds of work, or societal decisions may change the kinds of work which are demanded. But job redesigners can bring about only small improvements within these limitations. The prospects for humanizing work are limited most by the realities of the work to be done—realities which are beyond the power of planners to control.

Though job reform may not be able to revolutionize work, it is clear that work is gradually evolving in positive directions. Changes in workers' attitudes are being paralleled by changes in the nature of work. Most of today's occupations and skills, for example, did not exist a century ago. Also, the proportion of the population engaged in various occupations has shifted dramatically. From an agrarian society in which more than half of the work force labored on farms, we have metamorphosed through an industrially dominated work era to a period in which white-collar occupations predominate.

These changes in what people do for a living have outmoded traditional ideas of "real" work. The manual labor once equated with work has been nearly abolished, disposing of the notion that work requires physical strength or skill.

Number of Service Workers Rises

More important than the shift from brawn to brain has been the change from producing goods to performing services. Today more than 60 percent of the work force takes no direct hand in the provision of the goods by which society lives. We have more social workers than tool and die makers, more musicians than coal miners. A century ago, society could divert only a tiny fraction of its work force from the tasks of growing, making, and distributing goods. Today the majority of people exist on goods they have had no part in producing. Undoubtedly, this shift in work roles will continue as human efforts needed to produce the traditional necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—increasingly are mechanized.

While not all of these developments may be rated as improvements, there have been some clear gains. First, skill requirements are increasing. In 1900, unskilled laborers outnumbered managers and professionals, there were more household servants than professionals, and 1 of every 3 blue-collar workers lacked a skill. Today there are 5 managers and professionals for every unskilled worker, there are 10 professionals for every household servant, and craftsmen and semiskilled workers make up seven-eighths of the blue-collar work force. To the individual, the upgrading of skills in the work force means that there is more room for moving up the job ladder (even though he may learn, when he does, that most white-collar workers are paper shufflers, and millions of service workers do no more than clean up after other people).

Secondly, work which was once largely determined by accidents of birth, is now more likely to be an expression of personal choice. One result of our tremendously productive economy is an affluence which, in some measure, affects all

'The easiest way to improve an unpleasant job is to reduce the working hours.'

segments of society. It has, for example, relaxed the historic work-or-starve law. The government has undertaken wider responsibility for all individuals, regardless of their work contribution, and, in effect, offers alternatives to the least paid or least desirable jobs. The accumulation of wealth also has diffused benefits to many persons who are not required to labor in return. Parents support children long after they could be earning their own living; insurance policies support heirs; stock dividends support retirements.

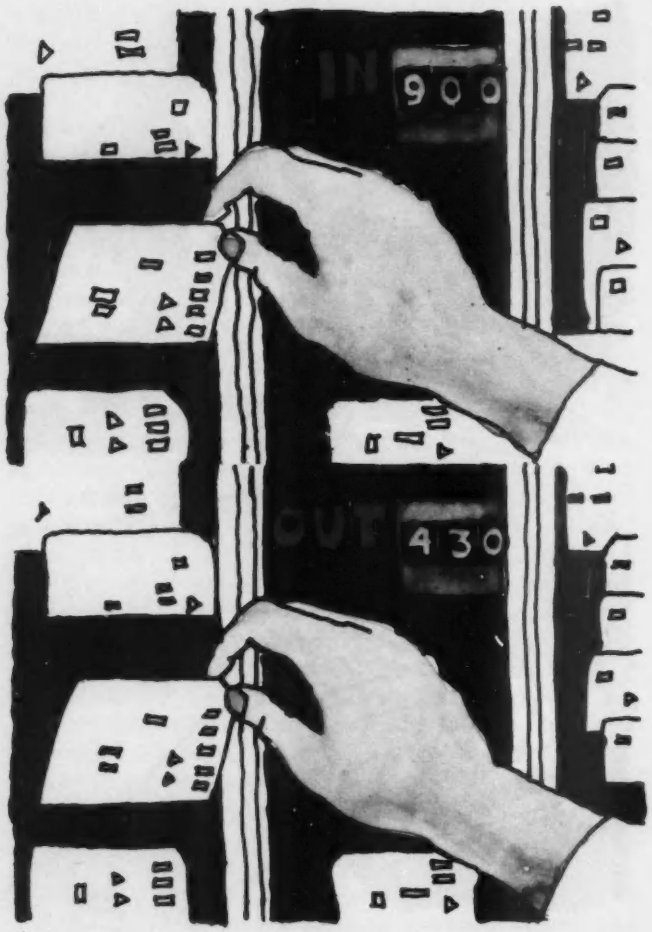
For the vast majority of people, who are neither coupon clippers nor welfare recipients, productivity gains have made possible shorter hours of work. Where work was once necessary from sunup to sundown, it has become one activity among many, and pursued partly at the discretion of the individual. A male retiring today is likely to have worked 13.5 hours less per week, 2.5 weeks less per year, and 7.7 years less per lifetime than his grandfather did at the turn of the century. As Eli Ginzberg has noted, workers have long supported shorter hours of work aimed at "recapturing time from the employer so that they can live their lives according to their own plans." The easiest way to improve an unpleasant job is to reduce the working hours.

Moreover, these contractual leisure gains are only one of the choices available to many workers in a high-wage economy. Some individuals, by lowering their standards of living, can reap substantial leisure gains. The dropouts who spend only a few months a year at work have chosen to sacrifice the luxuries of greater income for the freedom of greater leisure.

Other factors contribute to widening choices in work roles. In earlier eras, most people went to work after grade school. Today's extended education has lengthened the period prior to making job decisions and has enabled many people to sample a variety of jobs before settling on a career. Moreover, increased public support of education—evidenced by the rapid growth of community colleges and area technical schools—has helped many people to educate themselves for broader and more rewarding work roles.

The individual's work choices have been expanded still further by changes in modes of transportation. In the era of the automobile, the mill town with limited work possibilities is an anachronism. No longer restricted to "what is available," people commute over long distances to the jobs of their choice or migrate to areas with better job prospects.

In addition, work has continually been affected by the collective efforts of workers to modify what was once the unlimited power of management to determine job content solely in terms of maximum output. Although union negotiators



have concentrated on pay, they also have exerted pressures on the design of work in their negotiations over hours, job safety, productivity standards, limitations on who may work, and the like. Through years of bargaining, workers gradually have extended their rights in determining how their work will be organized and assigned. The evolved precedents in labor law now form a countervailing force to employers' absolute control over work content and job design.

For example, one of the critical arguments in debates over wages has always been the agreed-on standard of work. Whether pay is by the piece or by the hour, normal work methods and speeds must be determined in order to set fair pay rates. In the clothing industry, union evaluators normally set the prices which will be paid to sewers and stitchers, thus

determining how hard workers must work to obtain a decent wage. Similarly, in the automobile industry controversy focuses on the number of workers to be employed on the assembly line. The real issue, however, is the quality of work, for the number of workers establishes the speed of work, the number of relief breaks, and the degree to which workers would be "chained" to the line. Although pay or the number of workers may be the articulated issues in union-management negotiations, the quality of work also is affected.

Not all the trends in work are positive. There appears to be no retreat from work organizations of increasing size and complexity, a development which conflicts with workers' aspirations to control their own work lives. Whether in steel manufacturing or in delivering health care, mammoth hierarchical organizations seem inevitable. To be sure, the growth of ever larger organizational units is not without limits. It is clear, however, that there will be no return to the village blacksmith and the visiting doctor. For most workers, the giant organization will continue to be the employer, and the relation of the individual to these great enterprises will continue to be strained.

Specialized Training Limits Mobility

Higher educational levels and greater skill requirements for jobs also have drawbacks. Though initial choice is increased by long periods of training, specialized knowledge limits later mobility. Once a person settles on his occupation, the lengthy educational process restricts midcareer change. Adult education programs have not done much to alter this situation. Moreover, time-consuming educational processes have raised credentials barriers around many occupations, and prohibit all but a few aspirants from entrance. Many jobs which once were open to anyone who could impress the boss during an interview are now reserved for those with lengthy resumes and degrees.

But such negative aspects are unimportant beside the gains in individual control over work. While choice is still a dream for the poor, the unemployed, and the uneducated, the majority of workers gradually have won an increasing say in the nature of their jobs.

As affluent workers become more concerned about the intrinsic value of work, profit-oriented enterprises may find it hard to compete for talented manpower with nonprofit organizations that have more idealistic goals. Consequently, employers will be under increasing pressure to reform work to match their employees' desires. When this occurs, employers may turn to collective decision making, profit sharing, and greater individual control over work as necessary measures to recruit and retain workers.

Any such transformation of work will reflect the fact that, to a great degree, work has become a function of society's wishes rather than its needs. Much employment in service fields, for example, can be established almost arbitrarily by society, especially by the government. In recent years, legislation has created whole new service industries in the areas of manpower training, pollution control, health care, and various social welfare programs. Alternatively, funding cutbacks can cut employment suddenly and massively. Tax revisions can do the same thing—consider the effect on employment in food and hotel services if the elimination of expense accounts dried up executive watering places.

The expectation that work in the future will be determined partly by individual wishes is not so much a vision of Utopia as a projection of the past. Already, work is being created in occupations in which people wish to work, and employment is declining in occupations in which they find work undesirable. For example, opportunities in academic research and education result partly from worker interest in these areas, and not only from needs for such services. And in fields where workers have rejected the work because it is low-paid or low-status (for example, domestic or military service), society often has decided it needs fewer such workers.

This flexibility in allocating manpower suggests that much employment actually is superfluous and that society can exercise considerable discretion in generating work that is responsive to the needs of an educated, affluent work force. In time, notions of maximum efficiency and productivity may become less relevant than they are now. The arguments in which we still engage about "make work" and "social usefulness" may become anachronisms in an era in which an increasing proportion of work is created by society for the personal fulfillment of individuals. Rather than heralding the end of work, these changes are natural progressions toward goals of human fulfillment.

It would be extravagant, however, to predict that these developments will proceed rapidly, or that the changes will be sweeping. For some time to come, most work will continue to be governed by technological imperatives and collective demands for goods and services. Most workers can expect only gradual improvements in the trade-off between income and leisure as productivity gains increase worker benefits.

Some day all work may be a matter of choice rather than necessity. But as yet, the heavenly city of the philosophers is still beyond our reach. □

Somewhere to Go

Employment Service Project Draws on Varied Resources to Help Ex-Convicts

by Laura Perlman

"No money, no job, and nowhere to go."

That's the way one inmate of a Georgia prison described what he expected on the outside. After serving almost 3 years, he was due for release in 2 months. And then what? As he put it, "A suit of clothes and $25. I didn't know where I was going to live or how I was going to manage, even if I was lucky enough to get a job right away."

Until about 3 years ago precious few Georgia ex-convicts were that lucky. With meager job qualifications in addition to the burden of a record, most faced a difficult time earning an honest living. The results were predictable: Many returned to crime. More than half the adults released from prison in Georgia went back to jail.

To break this cycle, a way was needed to bring together public agencies and community groups to help ex-offenders adjust to society and to convince society to accept them. People leaving prison need "a job developer, an advocate, a friend," says James Anderson, State counseling supervisor of the Georgia Employment Security Agency's Model Ex-Offender Program (MEP), a pilot project designed to fill these needs.

Through MEP, the man who expected nothing from the system beyond the traditional $25 and some clothes got a lot more: A place to stay, money, and a job as a parts expediter in a plant that manufactures small aircraft. "This is the first good start I ever had in my life," he said, "and I'm 45 years old."

MEP began operating in October 1970, when Georgia was the first of five States to receive Manpower Administration funds to develop and test an employment service program aimed specifically at ex-offenders. Following the model developed for the experiment by the U.S. Employment Service, the Georgia Employment Security Agency set up a central office in Atlanta to administer the program. An Ex-Offender Correctional Manpower Services Center was established to serve Atlanta, and MEP employment counselors were stationed in six other major cities and at four prisons.

With this staff plus personnel assigned to the project part time, MEP works with offenders before they leave prison and after they are released. MEP help is available to released prisoners throughout the State. MEP also assists probationers, people referred by the courts, and other ex-offenders who seek its specialized services.

Many Agencies Help

Coordination of MEP's statewide activities is in the hands of John Dick and his staff, who operate from the project's central office across from Atlanta Stadium. Dick, a low-key, soft-spoken man, says the key to success for MEP is the ability to work closely with a variety of people and agencies involved with offenders, including vocational rehabilitation agencies, parole officers, judges, prison counselors, and Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) inmate training projects.

For one MEP participant, a 42-year-old man with a long record of drug abuse, this ability has averted what seemed an almost certain prison return. He had spent most of the past 20 years in prison. Before his latest release, his MEP counselor discussed his situation with him. He had worked as a barber, but his skills were rusty, his eyesight was poor, and a physical problem prevented him from being on his feet all day. Upon his release his counselor arranged for medical help: Special glasses, an operation to enable him to stand for extended periods, and a place to stay while he recovered.

After he recuperated, MEP arranged brush-up training in barbering, helped get his license restored, and found him a job in the trade. Last spring, after earning two pay raises, he moved to Florida to operate a shop with his brother.

"I never would have made it without your help," he told the MEP staff. "I know I would have been back in prison within a couple of months. I have taken no drugs, as I just have not got the time for that kind of living any more."

MEP's access to a wide range of resources also made a big difference for a young man who had served time for auto theft. He needed a place to live, a way to learn a job skill, and a means of support while he learned. MEP and other agencies worked together to give him all three. From prison he went to live at Outlook, Inc., a halfway house for young first offenders out on probation. For the next 18 months he took machinist training paid for by the State vocational rehabilitation agency and worked at a job arranged by MEP. Now married, he lives in Atlanta where he earns good wages as a machinist.

"We need and we are getting the support of the communities where these men are going to live and work," says Dick. Gaining that support, by selling the pro-

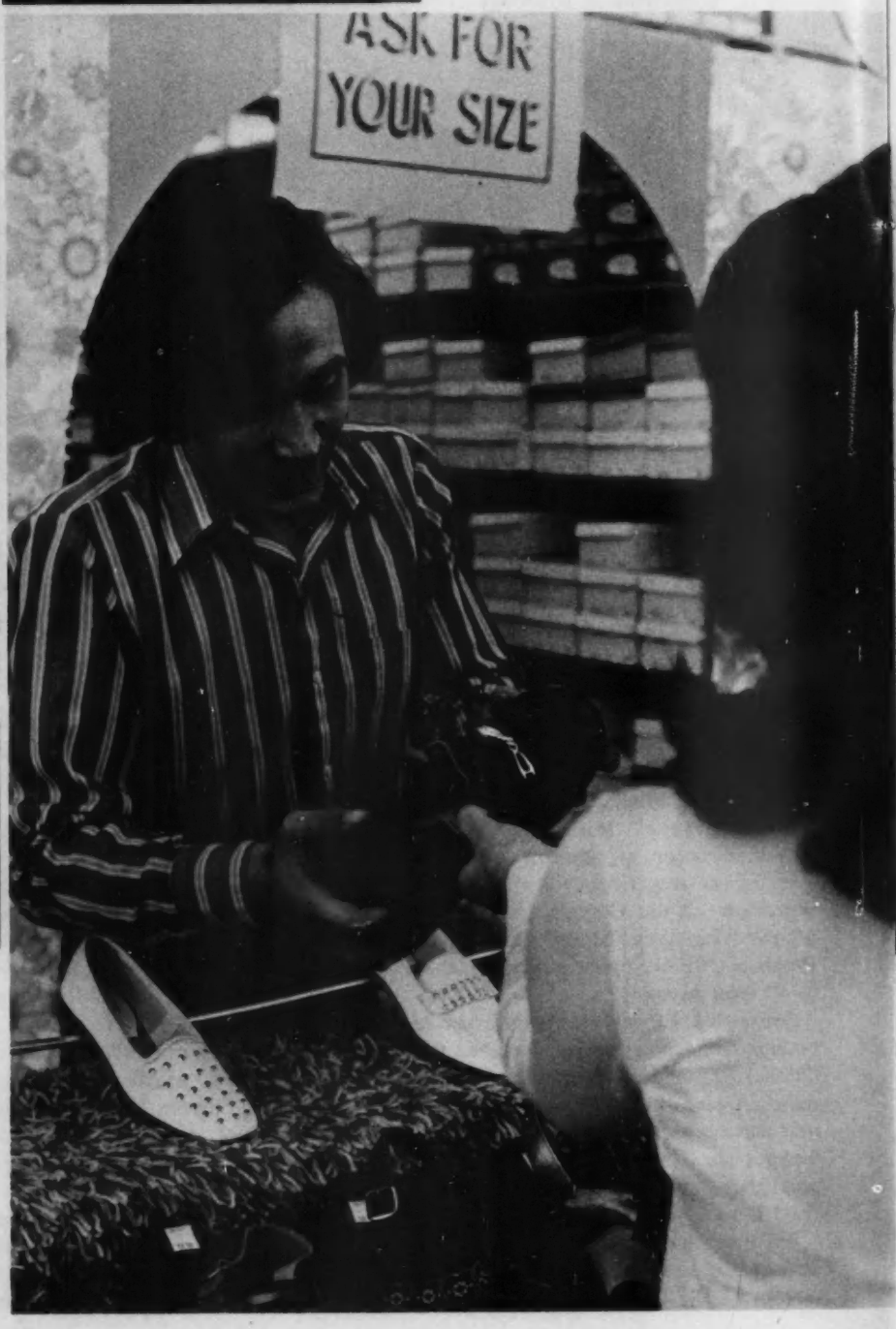
Laura Perlman is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

Although his previous work experience was sparse, Larry Black has done well in the job the Atlanta MEP found for him with a manufacturer of insulation materials.

Probationer Isiah Collins (left) discusses job possibilities with manpower representative Effie Lewis and interviewer Lewis Smith in the Atlanta MEP Center.

Atlanta MEP Center manager Hugh Murray: "Always level with the people you're trying to help. A lot of these fellows can spot a mealymouth a mile off."

Thomas Nix (right) and Curtis Matich are two of four ex-offenders employed at an Atlanta gas station. Nix, now night manager of the station, was placed by MEP and, in turn, recommended that his employer hire Matich. While in prison Matich had been an instructor in an automobile mechanics training class.



Now on probation and getting help from MEP, Walter Polisky continues to work at the shoe store where he was employed under a work release program while still serving time in jail.

Somewhere to Go

gram to employers, unions, and the public, is the job of MEP field supervisor Bill Morgan. Working out of the central office in Atlanta, Morgan goes across the State telling mayors, merchants, judges, union officials, and others how MEP functions and how everyone benefits when a former convict turns a prison record into a work record.

Counseling supervisor Anderson believes MEP's efforts have improved the climate of opinion about ex-offenders. Unions are making it easy for them to join by arranging the payment of initiation fees on the installment plan, he says. And employers "are extremely receptive." Not more than about 3 percent—mostly financial institutions and branches of national corporations with companywide policies against hiring ex-convicts—have turned down MEP completely, according to Anderson.

"We level with the employer about a person's record, background, and abilities," Anderson says. "So the employer finds out more about an ex-offender than about a person coming in off the street to look for work."

Anderson also sees a change in attitude among correctional personnel. MEP representatives consult prison personnel to find out what type of assistance an inmate requires to help him get settled and started on the outside. As a result, Anderson says, correctional people are learning to think in terms of what happens to a convict after he leaves prison.

One significant change MEP has achieved is an end to the Georgia requirement that an inmate must have a job before he can be paroled. Now, in lieu of a job offer, the State Board of Pardons and Paroles accepts an agreement that MEP will assist the parolee. "We are convinced that men are more likely to stay with jobs decided on at face-to-face interviews," Dick says. "And a survey we did shows that those interviewed definitely get better jobs—paying an average of 20 cents an hour more than the jobs developed for inmates before release."

Many MEP participants have spent a large slice of their lives behind bars. Hence their job qualifications depend in large measure on their prison experiences. A number of steps have been taken to improve job training and educational opportunities in the Georgia penal system. One innovation is the Georgia Diagnostic and Classification Center, where all adult felons go for physical, psychological, academic, and vocational testing and evaluation before assignment to a regular prison. A few small, model institutions with educational facilities and a rehabilitative approach have been established. And there is a separate institution for young offenders that includes educational and some job training, and a work-release program.

Little Training in Prison

Most of the system has not yet caught up with these changes, however. The largest facility, Georgia State Prison, a 40-year-old maximum security institution located far from any sizable population center, houses about 2,300 men. Each inmate has a work assignment, which may involve picking beans, making license plates, cleaning a section of the prison, or working in the kitchen. The prison has no work-release program. It offers educational and some vocational courses, but the job training "barely touches the prison population," says Warren Harvey, MEP guidance and counseling officer at the institution.

Harvey—along with other MEP counselors—stresses the need for more training in prison and after release. Few inmates get the job preparation the Diagnostic Center recommends for them. And lack of funds for living allowances prevents counselors from recommending training after prison for the large majority of inmates who have to start earning money immediately to support themselves and their families.

Harvey talks with each inmate a month or two before he leaves the prison. He finds out what the man has done, what he can do, and what he wants to do. And he explains how MEP can help him reach his job goal and adjust to life on the outside.

Inmates are not forced to accept MEP, but they are strongly encouraged to give it a try. Once an inmate agrees to participate, he is referred to an ex-offender counselor serving the area where he plans to go and his records and job plan are sent there. The inmate is asked to contact his home area counselor within 5 days. If he does not, the counselor tries to reach him. As a result of these efforts, about 60 percent of those who agree to MEP follow through with it. Overall, the program serves about 37 percent of the prisoners released in the State each year.

More than half the people leaving Georgia prisons settle in the Atlanta area. The Atlanta MEP center is located downtown in a tall, modern building. Here counselors and manpower specialists discuss with each participant his employment qualifications and plans and try to arrange a job or training for him. If an ex-offender needs support at the job interview, his counselor accompanies him. Counselors also arrange transportation to work and help smooth out any problems on the job.

One of the Atlanta center's most successful placements is Ernest Sinclair, who came in last November after being released from prison. He said he would work at any job, any hours. But counselor Charlotte Johnson thought Sinclair could do better than that. After questioning Sinclair and finding that he had been a

Somewhere to Go

mess sergeant and chief baker in the Marines, she quickly placed him as a short-order cook in a branch of the Dobbs House restaurant and catering chain. Within a month Sinclair was promoted to assistant manager of the branch, and 3 months later, to manager. He is now being considered for a higher position.

Along the way, however, Sinclair's new career almost came to an abrupt end. A company official visited Sinclair's restaurant and learned that he was not—and through ordinary private services could not be—bonded as required of all employees handling money. Sinclair turned to Mrs. Johnson, who arranged a bond for him through the Manpower Administration's Federal Bonding Program. Operated through the employment service, the program provides bonding for qualified job applicants who cannot obtain commercial bonding. As Sinclair tells it, "I was fired on Wednesday, fixed up with bonding on Friday, and hired back, with a promotion to manager, on Monday."

People returning from prison to other parts of Georgia get the same sort of services as those going to Atlanta. Some—like Sinclair—have good job qualifications and are relatively easy to place. But most have serious job disadvantages—besides a record. And some have personal problems as well and need help over many months before they can hold down a steady job.

"As long as a person needs help, we go on working with him," says Wayne Wortham, MEP employment counselor in Augusta. One of the beneficiaries of Wortham's persistence is a 27-year-old Augusta ex-convict with only a sixth-grade education, brief work experience, and a serious drinking problem.

The man, whom Wortham describes as "neat, quiet, and very cooperative," wanted to do construction work if he could get transportation to the good jobs in the suburbs. Wortham came up with an arrangement that fitted the bill—a training position with a firm that puts up prefabricated metal buildings and a way for the man to get to work. Wortham took him to the employer and he was hired.

He progressed well at first, but in a few months he was in the city stockade charged with drunken driving. This led to a brief stay in a hospital for treatment of alcoholism. After his release, Wortham arranged for medication and persuaded the man's former employer to give him another chance. Now, after a full year of help from Wortham, he is making it on his own in a skilled job.

While the Augusta man's employment handicaps were unusually serious, most MEP participants have substantial job disadvantages. About 80 percent have worked only in odd jobs or as laborers, and the majority did not go beyond the ninth grade. Nearly 70 percent are black, and not over 10 percent get vocational training in prison.

Placement Rate Is High

Despite this unpromising profile, Georgia's MEP placed in permanent jobs 1,991 (63 percent) of the 3,151 ex-offenders it served during its first 19 months of operation—nearly five times the placement rate for all male applicants served by the Georgia Employment Security Agency during fiscal year 1972. And in keeping with its policy of continued service, MEP made almost a third more subsequent placements.

These figures tell only part of the story. By and large, the ex-offenders got good jobs. In Atlanta, enrollees over 25 years of age have started out at an average wage of $2.56 an hour and those 18 to 25 at $2.48. Elsewhere in the State, where wage levels tend to be low, MEP participants earn less. But in all areas the average pay for MEP participants has been above the Federal minimum wage of $1.60.

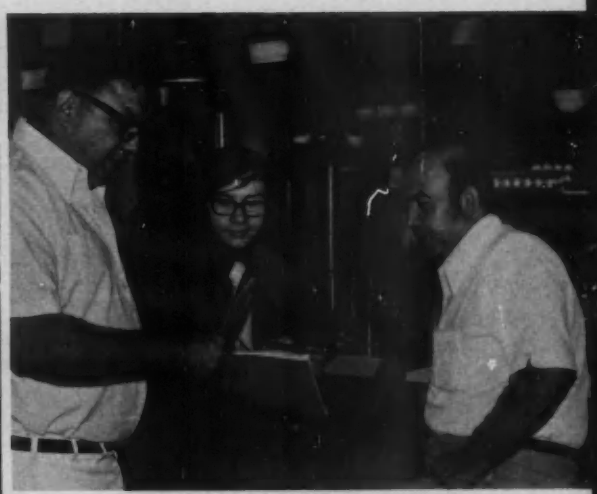
Another measure of program achievement is the proportion of participants who stay out of prison. An intensive 18-month followup of enrollees by the U.S. General Accounting Office showed that only 1 in 4 returned to prison. This compares with a recidivism rate of 52 percent for all released prisoners in the State.

Although results varied, the Model Ex-Offender Program also produced an encouraging record in the other four States—Arizona, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—where it was tested. Based on visits to all projects after they had been operating for at least 15 months, the Manpower Administration's Division of Program Evaluation Studies concluded that MEP achieved results "far in excess of costs or early expectation." MEP is an example of "positive and effective" use of employment service personnel and resources in the "challenging and demanding area of offender rehabilitation," according to the evaluation division's final report on the program.

Each State uses the same general system as Georgia: A central MEP correctional unit to coordinate the program and full-time employment service staff concentrated in cities where the largest number of ex-offenders live. In every project, the staff works with offenders before and after release. Job development, use of other community resources to help ex-offenders, and intensive followup also are standard operating procedure.

In the first 15 to 19 months, the projects served 14,876 ex-offenders and placed 5,884 in jobs; total placements (including subsequent ones) amounted to 7,454. Based on initial placements in permanent jobs only, the rate for the five projects ranged from 28 to 63 percent. In each State the MEP placement rate was at least double the rate for all male appli-

Ernest Sinclair has earned two promotions since MEP placed him with an Atlanta branch of the Dobbs House restaurant chain.



Sinclair chats with his boss, Karl Kabbousky (right), and Johannes Causey, MEP counselor, in the restaurant.

Somewhere to Go

cants served by that State's employment service in fiscal 1972.

These figures show what intensified services can do for job applicants—even ex-convicts with limited education and lack of job skills and experience, the evaluation study says. The study acknowledges that the high placement rates also reflect the greater dependence of ex-offenders on the employment service to help them find jobs.

Average earnings of MEP participants ranged from $2.15 to $2.40 an hour. That enrollees were getting entry-level jobs paying above the minimum wage reflects hard experience with placement outcomes. MEP staff found that putting ex-offenders in minimum wage jobs for the sake of employment was counter-productive. There was a direct relationship among tenure on the job, type of employment, and wages. Even in tight labor markets, the MEP staff encouraged participants to continue their job search rather than settle for the minimum wage, the study says. An advantage of MEP over regular employment service procedures is that it gives ex-offenders leeway to shop around for better paying jobs by making special services and resources available to them, the study points out.

Recidivism Rate Reduced

The recidivism rate for the five projects for 15 to 18 months of operation was 23 percent—compared with about a 50 percent rate for all released prisoners in the States for the same period. The evaluation study attributes MEP's success in reducing recidivism to three major factors:

- By having something to offer in return (effective employment services especially geared to ex-offenders), MEP could operate on a reciprocal basis with other local agencies. Hence it was able to forge the links that are necessary for ex-offenders to get the kind of help they need.
- MEP staff were more concerned about the types of jobs and services ex-offenders were receiving than with inflating statistical averages on placements and other indices.
- MEP projects had identity and visibility recognized by inmates, ex-offenders, and the community at large.

In terms of costs and benefits, the study estimates that $7 was saved in correctional system expenditures because of reduced recidivism for every dollar spent by MEP. A broader based study made by Georgia of its MEP operation indicated that benefits exceeded costs by a ratio of 13 to 1.

Georgia and the other four test States plan to carry on their MEP activities although Federal funding for the demonstration effort has ended. State funds have been appropriated by the Georgia legislature to continue services there.

The evaluation study pinpoints a number of lessons learned from MEP. One of the most important is that the employment service was able to put ex-offenders in jobs that otherwise would have eluded them. Personal contact with employers was a key factor in placements, the study says.

Another finding is that present hiring practices virtually exclude ex-offenders from obtaining employment service staff jobs. It was hoped that ex-offenders could be hired for MEP staff positions, but civil service regulations and State merit procedures usually thwarted this goal. Only about 5 percent of MEP staff were ex-offenders.

The study also cites the difficulty of reconciling two MEP objectives: Serving hard-to-place people and gaining employer acceptance. Many counselors felt that State agencies and correctional officials were using MEP as a dumping ground for people no one else could place, including those imprisoned for drug use or drug-related crimes. In general, MEP served a sizable number of these ex-offenders. But meeting their job needs sometimes had to be weighed against the importance of preserving MEP-employer relationships.

Urban Record Best

The study also found that:

- MEP worked best in major metropolitan areas with large concentrations of ex-offenders (Atlanta, Phoenix, Tulsa, Boston, and Philadelphia) and where a sizable staff and a variety of community resources were available to supplement employment service efforts. Projects were least effective in smaller urban communities and rural areas where serious transportation problems, limited community resources, and depressed job markets hampered efforts to provide manpower services.
- Centralizing State employment service correctional activities improved coordination of resources and developed a cadre of personnel familiar with all phases of correctional manpower activities and able to provide program continuity.
- MEP demonstrated the importance of having an identifiable correctional unit to serve as a catalyst in generating interest in the employment problems and successful readjustment of ex-offenders. A specialized program such as MEP, supported by top State employment service officials, had much more clout in working with State agencies than isolated employment service staff. MEP also gave ex-offenders a visible means of support. To them, the fact that the project was an extension of the "establishment" was less important than the continued demonstration of real interest and effort to help them find jobs.
- MEP proved to be effective spokesmen for ex-offenders by gaining cooperation from local agencies in providing services. □

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News & Notes

Employers seeking minority college graduates with specific educational backgrounds may now obtain listings of them from the Manpower Administration, which has computerized information on 60,000 such graduates in 1971 and 1972 from 1,200 colleges and universities. The lists of degree holders available from the Manpower Administration include mathematicians, engineers, chemists, physicists, business administration majors, accountants, economists, social workers, nurses, medical technicians. biologists, psychologists, computer technologists and programers, teachers, and graduates in other fields. The computer listings can be requested from the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Manpower, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210, with cost, if any, depending on amount of computer work required. The entire list of 60,000 graduates is available in book form from the Government Printing Office. Called the Directory of Minority College Graduates, 1971-72, it gives each graduate's name, address, sex, minority group, and type of degree. It can be purchased for $8 from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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Carmen Rosa Maymi has been appointed director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. A native of Santurce, Puerto Rico, Ms. Maymi had served since November 1972 as the Bureau's associate director for Program Development. As Women's Bureau Director Ms. Maymi will be responsible for formulating standards and policies which promote the welfare of working women and advance their employment opportunities.

* * *

With the Nation's colleges continuing to graduate more teachers than there are jobs for them, the teacher surplus is nearing the 300,000 mark, according to the National Education Association.

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Some 11,000 veterans have located jobs and training opportunities in the health field since 1970 through Operation MEDIHC (Military Experience Directed Into Health Careers), according to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A vocational and technical education scholarship program has been announced by Philip Morris Incorporated. The new program expands a Philip Morris college scholarship program which has been in existence since 1957. Under the program, children of Philip Morris employees now can choose to attend vocational and technical schools as well as colleges and universities in pursuit of their career goals. In announcing the vocational scholarship program, Philip Morris said that a company study "indicated strongly that there is an increasing need on the part of students, industry and government for more job-related education."

* * *

A free brochure is available from the Rehabilitation Research Foundation describing over 65 publications that are available for dissemination. The publications deal with the work this research organization has done in the areas of behavior science, educational technology, and correctional rehabilitation. Subjects of the publications include implementation of a token economy in a penal institution, training of correctional officers (guards) in behavior modification techniques, basic education innovations, an individually prescribed instructional system, contingency management, and measurement and evaluation. The brochure may be obtained by writing to Rehabilitation Research Foundation, P. O. Box 3587, Department V, Montgomery, Ala. 36109.

* * *

Plans for a smaller but more effective Job Corps have been announced by Secretary of Labor Peter J. Brennan. Job Corps will operate 65 centers in fiscal year 1974 with a total capacity of nearly 19,000 disadvantaged youth at a cost of $148 million. Last year the budget was $184 million for 71 centers with total capacity for nearly 24,000. "We expect to get much more for our manpower training dollar by dropping or reducing centers and keeping under tight surveillance other centers whose performance is under par," Brennan said. The six facilities to be closed are residential support centers in Hartford, Conn.; Davenport, Iowa; Norfolk, Va.; Wilmington, Del.; Green Cove Springs, Fla.; and San Francisco, Calif.

The Employ Servi Central

by Patricia Marshall

Find 800 people to work all night in never-never land.

That is a rare assignment for the public employment service, but it's the task the Providence office of the Rhode Island Department of Employment Security undertook when it volunteered to recruit extras for the filming of F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel, *The Great Gatsby*.

Extras were needed to recreate ballroom and garden party scenes on Gatsby's estate in the summer of 1925. Those who were hired had to have what Bernard Styles, Paramount Pictures' casting director for this film, calls "the Gatsby look." Styles says that this is a bearing of chic and elegance—"the kind of aura you get with wealth."

Further clues exist on the pages of Fitzgerald's book, where the author said that among the guests who populated Gatsby's all-night parties was "a whole clan named Blackbuck, who always gathered in a corner and flipped up their noses like goats at whosoever came near." There also were a number of people connected in some way with the movies, and girls with names that were either the "melodious names of flowers and months or the sterner ones of the great American capitalists. . . ."

Most Rhode Islanders who tried to get jobs as extras were drawn more by the excitement of being in the movies than by the pay of $20 a night for a few nights' employment, according to Fredric Walsh, chief of information for the State employment service. Work on the set at Rosecliffe, an old Newport estate, also gave many people who look at themselves as hoi polloi a chance to rub elbows with a few of Newport's well-known and wealthy residents, who also went out after jobs as

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Patricia Marshall is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

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Casting

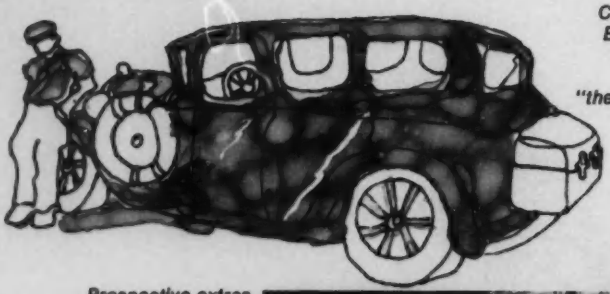
extras for the fun of "going Hollywood." Working together, these people from different walks of life shaped the mood on film of gay parties in which laughter, Fitzgerald said, was spilled with prodigality, and in which people who had come without being invited conducted themselves "according to the rules of behavior associated with an amusement park."

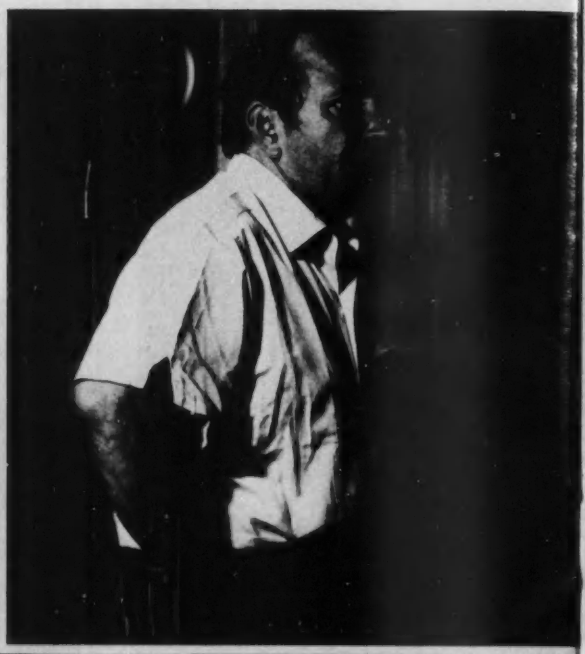
For the Providence employment service staff, it was all a somewhat more serious business, though still a change of pace. Recruiting was done through radio and newspaper announcements in which would-be actors and actresses were told to call the employment service for an appointment. Prescheduling by phone, Walsh says, was done to control the heavy and otherwise unwieldly traffic that the call for extras generated.

At times when most recruiting was done, it took up to six people on the employment service staff to handle the flood of telephone inquiries and to make arrangements with applicants to come into the employment service office for a meeting with Styles. Traffic flow also was controlled so that it did not conflict with other, more usual employment service activities.

To make preliminary cast selections—final selections were made later by the film's director—Styles met with 40 people at a time. In these sessions, he talked about Paramount's painstaking efforts to get authenticity (a local offer of a 1926 Maxwell, for example, was declined because the director wanted a 1925 Stutz Bearcat instead). Styles also poked fun at his own, somewhat odd personnel requirements. No one hired was to have a dark suntan and women had to be willing to work without brassieres or girdles—requirements

Employment Service





Casting director Bernard Styles: A man in search of "the Gatsby look."

Prospective extras who called for an appointment check in at the Providence office of the Rhode Island Department of Employment Security before being referred for interviews with the casting director.

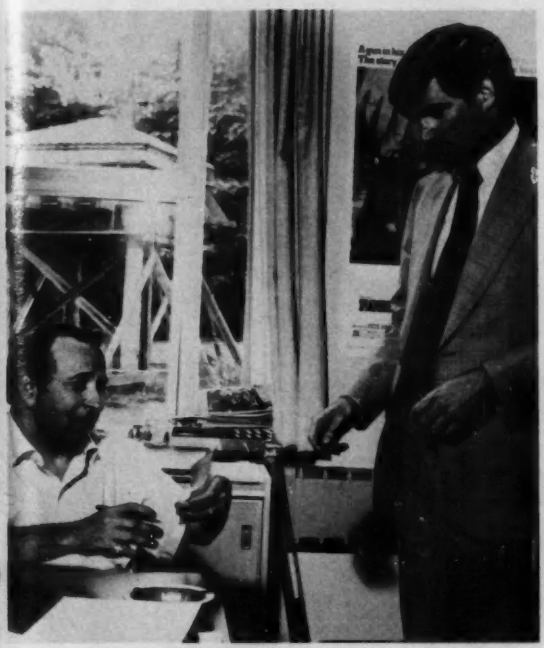
Applicants await the start of the group interview with the casting director.

that were set according to the fashions of Gatsby's world. Men and women alike had to wear their hair short, in the style of the mid-twenties.

Extras had to be willing to start work at dusk and after getting a free dinner at midnight, continue working until dawn. They were promised a minimum of 12 hours' pay a day for 3 nights regardless of whether they were needed for the full time. Styles told the applicants that most of them would get only about 3 or 4 nights' work, but a few would get jobs lasting about 12 nights.

Next, Styles met with individual applicants and accepted about 1 in 5. Walsh, who watched some of these selections being made, described the scene: "If Styles' eyes lit up when he looked at someone, they knew they had a part. For the rest, he had a beautiful way of saying, 'No.' "

This was not the first time a local employment service has lent Hollywood a hand. In years past, there have been times when such offices in California and elsewhere in the Nation have recruited extras, construction crews, and other



This man has "the Gatsby look," casting director Styles decided . . .

Raymond Beck of the costume department helps a newly hired extra select clothes that fit him and the part he will play.

. . . but it was, "I'm sorry dear," for this woman.

Photos by Doug Milllkin

workers needed by the movie industry, "on location." For example, the Owensboro, Ky., office recruited 2,000 extras for *The Kentuckian*. In this case, the people most in demand were tall, lean men with long hair.

The Eagle Pass, Tex., employment service helped out in the production of *The Alamo*. The staff filled orders for 1,300 extras, among them people meeting such specifications as: "Well-built, cute dancehall girls; pioneer women with long hair and a weather-beaten look; old men, stately with heavy mustaches; rough-looking characters to represent bad men."

In Providence, the effort to help Paramount did not produce any important economic results for the community, Walsh is careful to point out. He feels, however, that all the publicity surrounding the recruitment of people for *Gatsby* let local employers know the kind of prompt, all-out help they can get when they turn to the employment service to meet their personnel needs.

As for casting director Styles, the experience was an eye-opener. "I didn't know a bureaucracy could be so human and so helpful," he said when the job was done. □

Spreading The Word On Work

Multi-Media Approach Used to Tell Adults About Jobs and Careers

The Uptown area of Chicago, where the Rev. Iberus Hacker used Project 360 media techniques to inform residents of manpower and social service agencies that could help them.

by Jan Gams

One Sunday morning last spring, a young black veteran in Chicago telephoned a number he had just heard on the radio. "I've been all over town looking for a job and I can't find one," he told the person on the other end of the line. "I've got a dishonorable discharge from the Army and no one will hire me." As a result of his call, he now has a job and is appealing his discharge with the help of a local veterans' group.

In Portland, Oreg., a reading instructor looked for ways to help one of his students, a 25-year-old Chicano with a partly paralyzed arm and a tendency to be easily discouraged. One useful teaching device with this student proved to be a small, easy-to-read newspaper called 360 GRIT. Its stories described people beset by many troubles—a poor opinion of their own abilities, a prison record, and the like—and told how they successfully dealt with these problems.

In Buffalo, N.Y., a 45-year-old housewife watched a Wednesday night television program every week "because it showed so many different kinds of careers." She wanted to go back to work but lacked a job skill. After calling the telephone number given on the show, she received a booklet telling about local vocational training programs for adults. She also learned how she could get a high school equivalency certificate.

A 19-year-old Buffalo high school dropout, who had been out of work for 3 months, spied this ad in the help-wanted columns of the BUFFALO EVENING NEWS:

> ADULT CAREER EDUCATION. Learn about new careers and new opportunities in today's world. Watch Career 360, 12 noon Tuesday, 9:30 Wednesday nights. And call Career Line 881-5100 for career information.

His call to this number produced responses from local manpower training agencies—resources he didn't know existed.

The fact that a great many adults need information on jobs and job-related services is one of the reasons Project 360 was born. The project—named for its effort to reach all points of the compass—used television and radio programs and newspapers to reach adults in their homes with information on career education. The

Jan Gams edited the newspaper produced for the adult career education project described in this article.

project covered all or parts of 14 States: Alabama, Arizona, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Tennessee, Virginia, Wisconsin, Georgia, and Pennsylvania.

Although career education has been a major thrust of the U.S. Office of Education for the past 3 years, most of the agency's efforts have been directed toward the Nation's school children. However, there are many adults with critical needs for good career information, and what they don't know can hurt them.

This is particularly true of the Project 360 target group—persons more than 18 years old who had not finished high school. Frequently, such persons are poorly motivated, have learning difficulties of various kinds, and don't know how to go about getting a good job. They shun classrooms, teachers, and tests because all of these are the symbols of past failures. The problem, then, is to reach them with career information in a form they will accept.

Mass media were used for Project 360 because they could convey career information for adults into their homes rather than through the schools. Nearly all the target group could be reached in this manner, as more than 95 percent of all U.S. homes contain a television set and even more contain radios.

The project began in July 1972 under a 1-year, $257,000 Office of Education

Rev. Hacker explains the services available through his Uptown Community Organization to a resident of the area.

grant to WHA-TV, the University of Wisconsin's extension television center in Madison, Wis. For national use, the center produced 26 weekly, half-hour color television shows; 26 weekly, 3½-minute radio programs; and 13 issues of a small biweekly newspaper. Primarily, the purpose of these efforts was to show adults the range of occupational opportunities open to them, with emphasis on jobs that require low entry-level skills and offer good employment prospects and upward mobility.

Through its varied media, Project 360 described many different kinds of jobs, the training required, salary ranges, and career ladders. It told its audience how to fill out application forms, present themselves in job interviews, take tests, move up in the job, use employment agencies, get job counseling, and obtain financial aid for education. Also, the laws of garnishment and equal employment were explained, as were the services of community colleges and those of vocational and technical schools. Some of the programs and news stories were devoted to training available under the Manpower Development and Training Act, along with personal histories of adults who have benefited from this training.

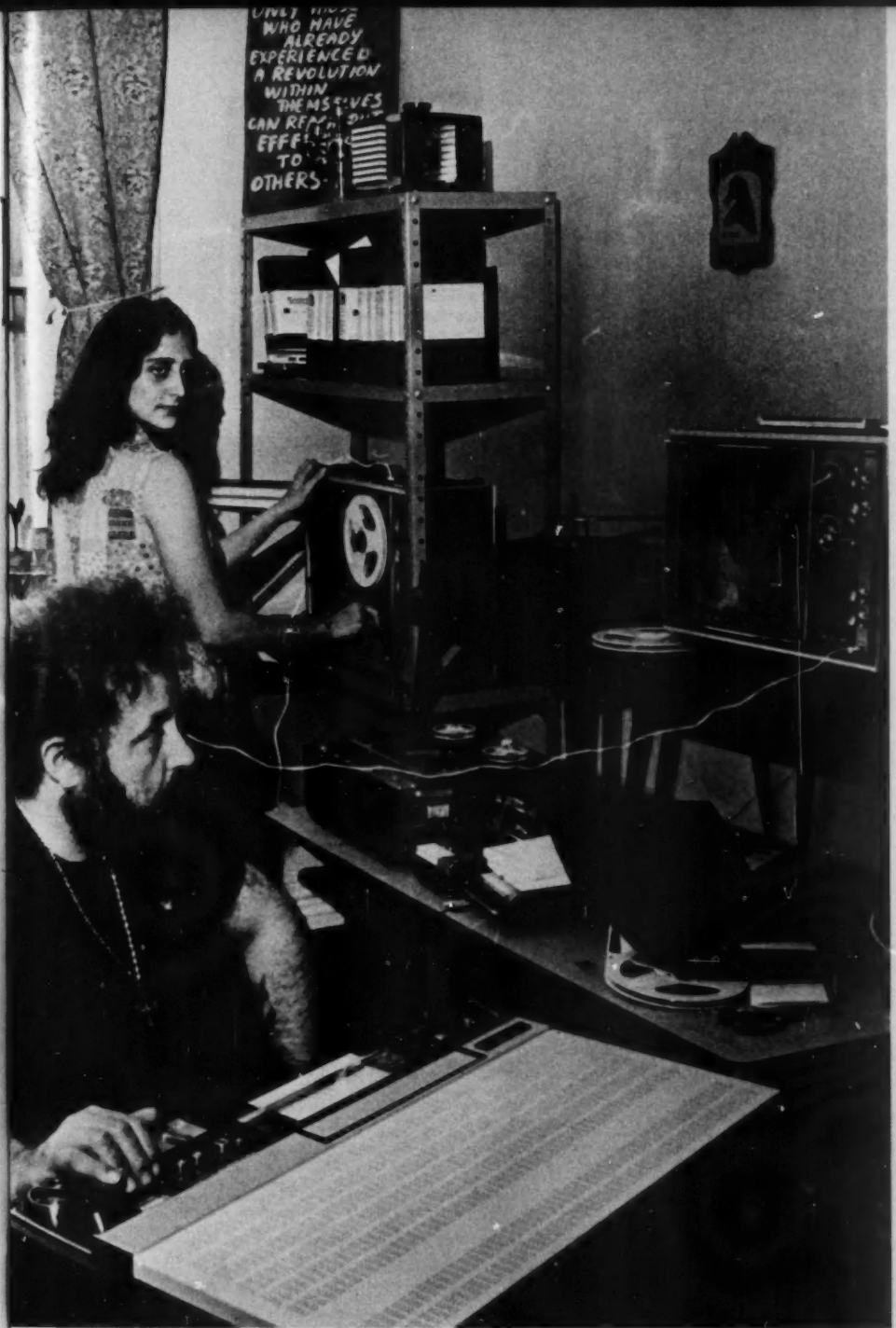
Project 360's shows got on the road last January, when 35 public and commercial television stations began airing the TV units one or more times a week. At the same time, about 80 radio stations started broadcasting the weekly radio programs. A designated agency in each State distributed the newspaper free. In the first month, the paper's press run jumped from 15,000 to 29,000 copies.

Meshing mass media for adult education is not a new idea. It began in the 1950's on the basic premise that an integrated approach, with each medium reinforcing the others, makes a greater impact on adults than one medium alone. In Wisconsin, the idea had an earlier tryout in the Rural Family Development (RFD) project, which was beamed to adults living in rural areas within the reach of WHA-TV. RFD used television, radio, newsprint, telephone, and home visits.

RFD and Project 360 were carefully designed to attract adults, according to Boris Frank, 360 project director. "We know that adults are likely to be problem centered in their approach to learning," Frank says. Typically, they seek further education so they can deal with some problem and not to master a subject for its own sake. Also, we know that adults often value learning to the extent it is valued by persons important to them, particularly their families and friends.

"Project 360 built its messages around persons that its target population could identify with—people who might live next door, down the block, or in the community. And these message carriers were also overcoming occupational handicaps of a kind well known to our audience. They, too, faced problems arising from race, sex, prison or hospital records, retardation, physical handicaps, poverty, low educational attainment, and the like."

The format in all media was lively and leaned heavily on variety and humor even though the subject matter was serious. "We avoided traditional pedagogical methods like blackboards, charts, lectures, teachers, and tests," Frank says. "These would have driven our audience away. Instead, we tried to use forms that adults like. We built a fast-paced format for 360 because we learned in RFD, our earlier project, that this is the pace adults prefer. So in our TV shows we had about



Before using it as part of his Uptown Community Organization work, Rev. Hacker and his wife preview a Project 360 television show in their Chicago home.

a dozen different segments, ranging in length from 3 seconds to 10 minutes. This is a format like that used on news programs. The same format also has been used successfully on 'Laugh-in' and 'Sesame Street.' "

To add the spice of variety to their TV shows, the producers used minidocumentaries of training programs; stories of persons from the target population; and the talents of David Canary of "Bonanza" fame, Puerto Rican author Piri Thomas, and other notables. Interviews with civic and ethnic leaders heightened minority interest and self-identification with these programs. Some of the shows featured entertainers like comedian Irwin Corey, who talked in his own zany fashion about money, education, and other job-related topics. "The Employment Game," a humorous takeoff on a popular television quiz program, was played on most of the shows.

A typical TV show opened with a young black man who talked about his life on the streets and in prison, and how an Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) had changed his life style.

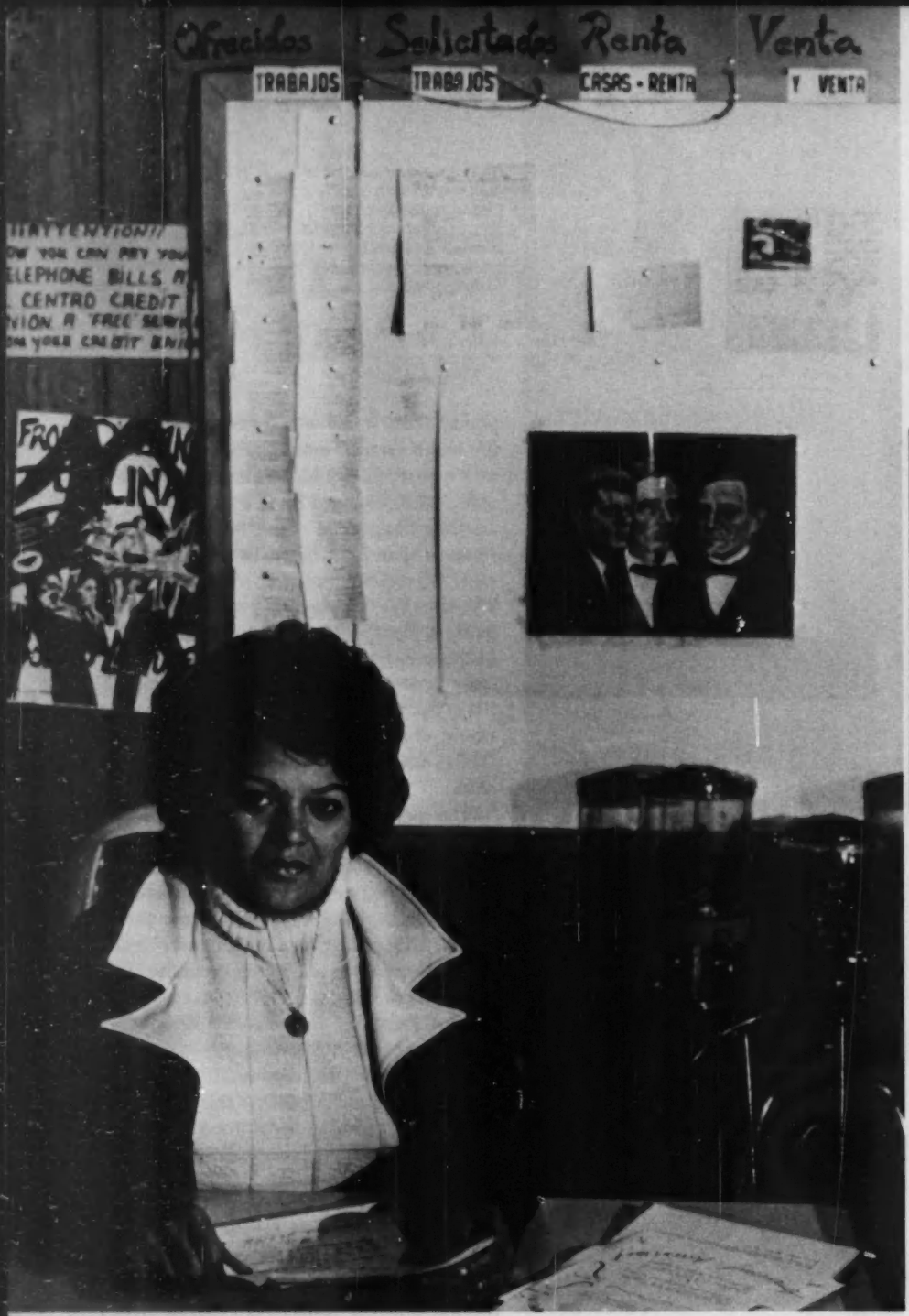
"One thing good about being incarcerated is that I did have time enough to think, to evaluate myself," the youth told TV viewers. "I saw that there was definitely a place in life for me. There was a purpose to live. . . . The next step was to more or less make amends where I could. . . . Upon my release I decided that I would check into the advertisements on OIC to find out what the organization was about."

The camera moved behind the scenes into an interview at OIC, a local unit of a nationwide organization set up by Rev. Leon Sullivan, which has received much of its funding from the Manpower Administration. Next, training classes and shops were shown and several trainees explained how they benefited from the program. Reverend Sullivan told 360's audience about the OIC philosophy—to help minorities get "green power," which he feels is far more important than "black" or "brown" power.

The OIC report was followed by a light-hearted, true-or-false quiz on aptitude tests designed to correct some common misconceptions.

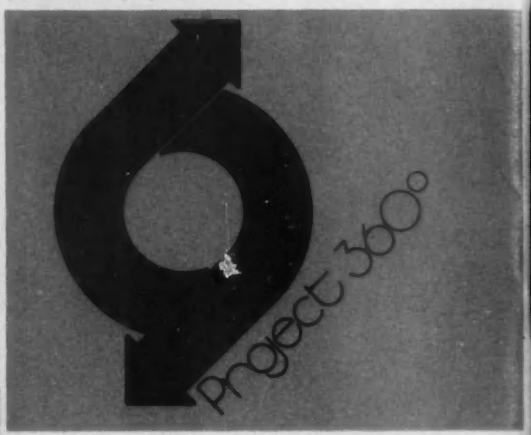
Next, a 6-minute documentary introduced Ed Shirley, a blind graduate of a private training school for motorcycle mechanics. Shirley was shown at work as he repaired a cycle and at home as he discussed his handicap with his blind wife. The real handicapped person, he said, is not the person who is blind but the person "who has given up the will to live and to try."

The final program segment was "The Employment Game." In this episode, host "Happy Huxter" introduced the all-purpose man, a man loaded with job skills but no diplomas. After interviewing



Word on Work

In one Project 360 television show, Luz Acevedo, a Puerto Rican who came to the United States at age 12, told how counseling and English instruction helped her get a better job.



three potential employers for a job, he found a job he liked where he would have a wide range of tasks.

Like the television show, Project 360's radio programs and newspaper, 360 GRIT, also used a brief, bright format. The paper was heavily illustrated and written at a low reading level. A typical issue carried stories on pension plans, the productivity of older workers, the financial assistance available from the Small Business Administration, and various programs teaching adults how to read. The newspaper's regular columnist also told readers how to get jobs for which they were qualified.

One agency in each State was responsible for getting project materials out to the target population. These agencies generally were the State department of education, a publicly owned TV station or network, a university extension service, an organization concerned with adult education, or a college. Usually, the media materials were modified at the State or local level to reflect local interests and resources. On occasion, some shows were abandoned entirely and shows were produced locally.

Such efforts to link program materials with local needs produced some interesting results. In Big Rapids, Mich., where the 360 sponsor was Ferris State College, the project staff found that employers in the city had a great many openings for semiskilled welders. As a result, the college gave aptitude tests to a group of welfare recipients and began to offer special training courses in welding.

Ferris State hired a coordinator to run its 360 project, set up advisory committees, installed a 24-hour telephone line, and produced its own television segments to replace material in national shows that was not applicable locally. Even when national materials were used, they were localized through the use of spot announcements giving viewers a local telephone number to call for job or training assistance. Volunteer workers handled these inquiries and referred callers to agencies where they could get the kinds of help they sought.

Often, local people were featured on the Ferris State productions to talk about

Veterinary assistant Mona Nickerson (below) and operating room assistant Beatrice Schwartz were two of the subjects in a series of taped television segments showing various jobs.

their jobs, how they got into a particular field, and where they got training. Two commercial stations aired the TV shows and two radio stations did 360 broadcasts. Mailings of the project newspaper were made biweekly to clients of social service agencies.

In Buffalo, N.Y., WNED-TV, the city's educational station, got a $5,000 grant from the State Department of Education to do extensive localizing of project materials. A big publicity campaign was launched with a preview luncheon for the press and community agencies. Posters were placed in local agencies and on buses, spot announcements were made on 18 radio stations, announcements were made daily in about 200 supermarkets, and classified ads were run in newspaper "help wanted" and "schools and training" sections.

In Chicago, an inner-city minister adapted the 360 media to the special needs of the Uptown area. The minister, Rev. Iberus Hacker, is president of the Uptown Community Organization (UCO), the hub of 127 agencies offering job counseling, placement, and a host of social services to the 110,000 residents of Uptown. The area consists of 110 littered blocks, the port of entry to the

Word on Work

Tim Pelt was among the professional entertainers who appeared in taped television shows produced by Project 360 for use by participating stations across the country.

American dream for thousands of Spanish-speaking people, blacks, American Indians, East Indians, Orientals, and white southern migrants from the Appalachian hills and hollows.

To adapt Project 360 materials to the needs of this population, Hacker got a grant from the Illinois Junior Colleges Board. The TV shows he turned out—some of them adaptations of the shows 360 produced for national use and several that he produced—were presented weekly by two Chicago TV stations.

Locally produced shows were set in Uncle Ugly's Coffee House, a UCO institution. Here, Uptowners sat around small tables and talked about their struggle and how community agencies had helped them. Reverend Hacker and his assistant also told down-home stories, strummed and sang a few country tunes, and led the group in popular hymns.

On a serious note, they talked about alcoholism, the devastating effects of strip mining, efforts to prevent Uptown landlords from locking out tenants illegally, and other problems. While the topics often ranged far afield from vocational training and other job-related needs, they enlisted an interested audience who found out through the shows that job help was available.

"We're mostly just folks," Reverend Hacker told his viewers. "We're not trying to convince people that we're entertainers or anything. We are trying to motivate people to call us. All the services we're doing aren't worth a darn if people don't know anything about them." Repeated throughout the show were telephone numbers of UCO agencies. Also, viewers were invited to come by the UCO headquarters for a chat and a cup of coffee. In addition to airing the television shows, UCO distributed 3,000 copies of the project newspaper through community agencies.

Later this year, the results of a Project 360 three-State evaluation, financed by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), will be available. People who used the project's telephone action lines are being asked to rate the services they received.

While the 360 project as funded by the Office of Education ended in July, the University of Wisconsin's television center, WHA-TV in Madison, has received $145,000 in general revenue sharing funds from the State of Wisconsin so that the project can continue in that State for another year.

The original television, radio, and newspaper materials in Project 360 are being edited and revised to meet recommendations made in evaluations of the project. Starting next January, WHA-TV will make the revised materials nationally available. Further information on this is available from Boris Frank in care of the station. □

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Words & Figures

Minority Enrollments in Manpower Programs

Of the more than 1,124,000 persons who entered manpower programs during the first 9 months of fiscal year 1973, almost 2 out of 3 were members of a racial or ethnic minority. About 520,000 or 46 percent of the new participants were black, 147,000 or 13 percent were Hispanos, 29,000 were American Indians, and 39,000 were members of other minority groups. The proportion of blacks and Hispanos among new enrollees was about the same during the first three quarters of fiscal year 1973 as it was in fiscal year 1972.

Although 46 percent of new enrollees were black, there was wide variation in their representation in individual programs. Black enrollment was high in youth programs: 298,000 or 57 percent in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in-school and summer programs and 21,000 or 60 percent in the Job Corps.

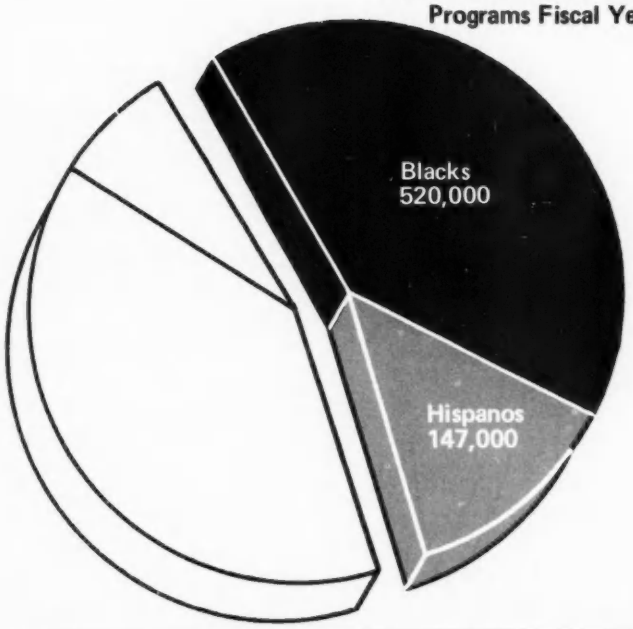
Among adult programs, blacks accounted for 40 percent or more of new enrollments in the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), and the New Careers Program. Black enrollment was 30 percent in Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) institutional (classroom) training programs, 20 percent in State-administered on-the-job training projects (the JOP or Jobs Optional Program), 26 percent in on-the-job training programs conducted under national contracts, 20 percent in Operation Mainstream, 28 percent in the Public Employment Program (PEP), and 32 percent in Public Service Careers (PSC).

In terms of numbers, adult programs with the most Hispano enrollees were WIN, with 15,000; PEP, 11,000; and MDTA institutional, 10,000. There were some 64,000 enrollments of Hispano youth in the NYC in-school and summer programs.

Proportionately, the heaviest representation of Hispanos —21 percent—was in the JOBS and PSC Programs. In all other programs, except on-the-job training under national contracts, where they constituted 8 percent of enrollment, Hispanos accounted for between 10 and 20 percent of new participants between July 1, 1972, and March 31, 1973.

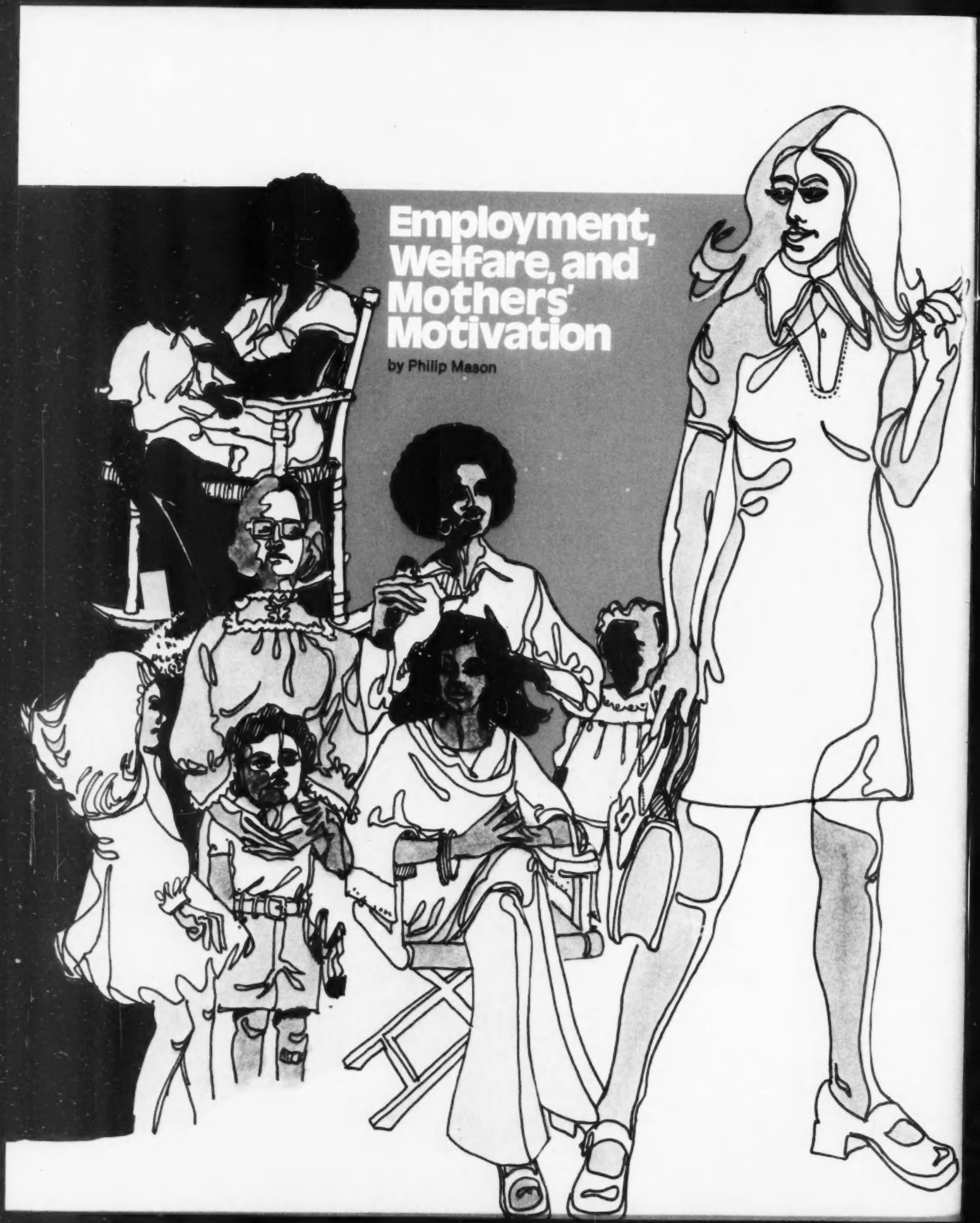
Overall, the five biggest manpower programs accounted for 88 percent of all new enrollments of blacks and 82 percent of Hispanos.

New Enrollments of Minority Groups in Selected Manpower Programs Fiscal Year 1973 Through March 31, 1973



	Blacks	Hispanos
WIN	58.0	15.3
CEP	29.6	6.9
Institutional	25.7	10.3
JOP	7.9	6.9
National OJT	5.6	1.7
JOBS	18.2	8.4
PSC	3.6	2.4
New Careers	2.1	0.5
Operation Mainstream	6.6	4.5
PEP	21.7	11.4
NYC In-School & Summer	298.0	64.2
NYC Out-of-School	22.2	11.0
Job Corps	20.7	3.6

(in thousands)



Employment, Welfare, and Mothers' Motivation

by Philip Mason

Success of Job Programs Seen Linked to How Family Women View Their Roles

How do welfare mothers feel about going to work?

The answers to this question have more to do with why work programs for these mothers succeed or fail than manpower program planners give them credit for, according to research by the University of Pennsylvania under contract with the Manpower Administration.

How do the mothers feel?

Each one feels differently—and that is what program designers and administrators are apt to lose sight of, the researchers fear. Look, for example, at the varying responses given by welfare mothers who were shown a picture of a child waving to a woman leaving a house. Their comments reflect fear, optimism, open resentment, and pride:

- "This is a mother who has to leave her child at home by himself. . . . Anything could happen."
- "A mother is leaving her children in the hands of a babysitter."
- "The children are sorry to see the mother go . . . I don't think she is happy either."
- "This mother . . . will be able to get the children some things they need and pay the bills."
- ". . . she try to show her love for her children and respect for herself as a mother."
- "This lady's telling her son to be good and don't open the door for no one . . . I think everything turns out all right."

This range of reactions is a reminder of the mothers' individuality. Yet, welfare recipients have often been regarded by the public and the authors or welfare legislation as a single group or "community." Such a label is unwarranted and unwise, say the researchers.

Greater awareness of the wide differences among people who receive public welfare would strengthen the operation of programs designed to help them, the research team claims. (Editor's note: Substantial revision of the WIN Program by the 1971 Social Security amendments, effective July 1, 1972, have carried out the intent of many of the study's recommendations.)

The study, *The Work Incentive Program: Making Adults Economically Independent,*[1] is a sociological analysis of women receiving welfare and women employed in low-income jobs. The aim was to find out what it takes to make these women financially independent. Though it focused on the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, which is designed to move welfare recipients into jobs, the study sought to provide a basis for improving manpower and welfare programs generally.

Grouped by Lifestyles

The research group observed 549 husbandless women during 1969 and 1970. Most of them—447—were WIN-eligible welfare mothers, but not all were enrolled in WIN. The remaining 102 were low-income working mothers. All were living in Camden County, N.J., just across the Delaware River from Philadelphia.

Based on the information they developed, the researchers have divided welfare mothers into four groups according to their lifestyle and have suggested how each group can achieve economic independence.

Four out of five welfare mothers are what the researchers call "traditionalists." These women feel obligated primarily to their homes and families. As women and mothers they expect to be financially supported, and when such support is not furnished by a husband or the family they feel entitled to the support they receive from the government in the form of welfare payments. Their expectations are not unlike those of nonworking middle-class women who expect their husbands to support them, the study points out.

The fifth welfare mother, the researchers say, is actively seeking economic independence and social mobility. Almost irrespective of her age, or where she is in the family life cycle, she craves a life outside the home. Women of her type are referred to in the study as "modernists."

Of the traditionalist welfare women, the researchers say:

- One in four is unsuited psychologically or intellectually to accept the social and occupational responsibilities that go along with a job.
- A second is an "adjusted traditionalist," often with a large family. Friends and relatives strongly support her role, considering it to be the proper orientation for a mother. Her work attitudes and status frequently remain unaltered by WIN.
- Two in every four are "temporary traditionalists," either in the process of modernizing, or temporarily out of the work force while caring for small children. They can be expected to assume a full modernist role after their youngest child is in school.

According to the report, welfare legislation has erred in its failure to recognize these distinctions between recipients. "Even the gross distinctions between 'traditionalists' and 'modernists' are not recognized in the basic policy documents," the report says.

In addition, the study found that financial incentives are overrated as a way of attracting welfare women to the WIN Program. An improved wage was seen as

Philip Mason is a member of the Manpower Administration information staff.

[1] The full study is available from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va. 22151. Volume I—study findings, comments, conclusions, and recommendations—is $6 for a paper copy and 95 cents for microfiche (specify accession number PB 220204). Volume II—the study bibliography and appendix—is $3 for a paper copy and 95 cents for microfiche (specify accession number PB 220205). Please enclose payment with order.

a "sometimes necessary but not sufficient condition" for a decision to go to work.

Policymakers also give too little attention to the less tangible factors affecting the decision to go to work, the researchers believe. More important than fiancial incentives, these pressures include attitudes of family and friends toward work, the nature and extent of social interactions, family size, previous work experience, and similar factors.

The study found that the likelihood of entering the labor force, or of successfully participating in WIN, is higher for mothers with female relatives who work, with friends who work, and—generally—with social relations in the wider community which provide opportunities to encounter variant ideas and stimulation for broader thinking. Association with other workers particularly generates positive attitudes toward work.

The WIN Program serves as a rallying point for already modernizing women, the study indicates. These women "self-select" WIN—going so far as to encourage program staff to appoint them to available slots.

Labor market participation is lower for those who have relatives on welfare, who associate with welfare mothers, and in general interact little with the community or with members of their extended family, the study found. Being on welfare, in part a result of social isolation, does little to prevent continued isolation, the researchers say.

The cultural aspects of lifestyles express themselves through—and are developed through—religious affiliations, the study found. The women at the group's extremes—the most traditional and poorly educated on the one hand, and the most modernizing and well educated on the other—tend not to be church members. The first group includes the socially isolated, emotionaly passive, and intellectually incompetent. The other includes active community participators, who have relatively high incomes, are the most intelligent, and, while not involved with institutional religion, tend to consider themselves religious.

Church members are drawn from the middle group—the better educated and more outgoing welfare mothers and the less educated working mothers.

Modernizing and traditional lifestyles dictate priorities in purchases and so shape household budgets, the study found. Traditionally oriented families concentrate their spending on items relevant to home life, such as food, household supplies, and the like. On the other hand, modernizing families spend more of their available funds for needs associated with the outside world, such as clothing and transportation.

Recommendations Listed

Here's what the researchers recommend:

- Those not able to compete in the labor market should be offered the same kind of rehabilitation services already available for physically and mentally handicapped persons. Manpower training programs should prepare some for low-skill and routine tasks in agriculture and industry.
- Adjusted traditionalists should be urged to reestablish complete traditional families. Social agencies should work with the husband or father—even offering wage supplements and other aid—to encourage him to meet his family responsibilities. These agencies also could help reduce the mothers' social isolation through school, church, or community projects. With assistance, some mothers in this group might provide foster care in their homes or help with neighborhood day care services.
- Temporary traditionalists should re-

ceive top priority in training, placement, and child care services. Except where there are young children at home, the study recommends enforcing compulsory work requirements for this group. Home industries such as telephone answering service, hairdressing, or small appliance repair should be encouraged for this group, as well as for the adjusted traditionalists.

• Modernizers should be offered jobs in either the public or private sector and given skill training or other services to prepare them for a job. If no job is available, public service employment or financial aid should be provided by the government. When members of this group become dependent on welfare it should be viewed as a problem of the job market rather than a lack of desire to work.

To prevent future welfare dependency, the study suggests a number of measures, some of which are built into the redesigned WIN Program.

For instance, it urges that vocational education for both girls and boys begin early in the elementary grades and continue, with apprenticeships in the skilled trades, in secondary schools. Vocational guidance, as offered in WIN, should be given older children in welfare families, making it possible to steer the more gifted ones into paraprofessional or professional training.

To provide an early foundation for family stability, family life education should be made a part of the regular schooling of youth.

Premarital and marital counseling—including family planning information—should have priority in manpower and welfare programs for women. This has become part of WIN under the 1971 amendments.

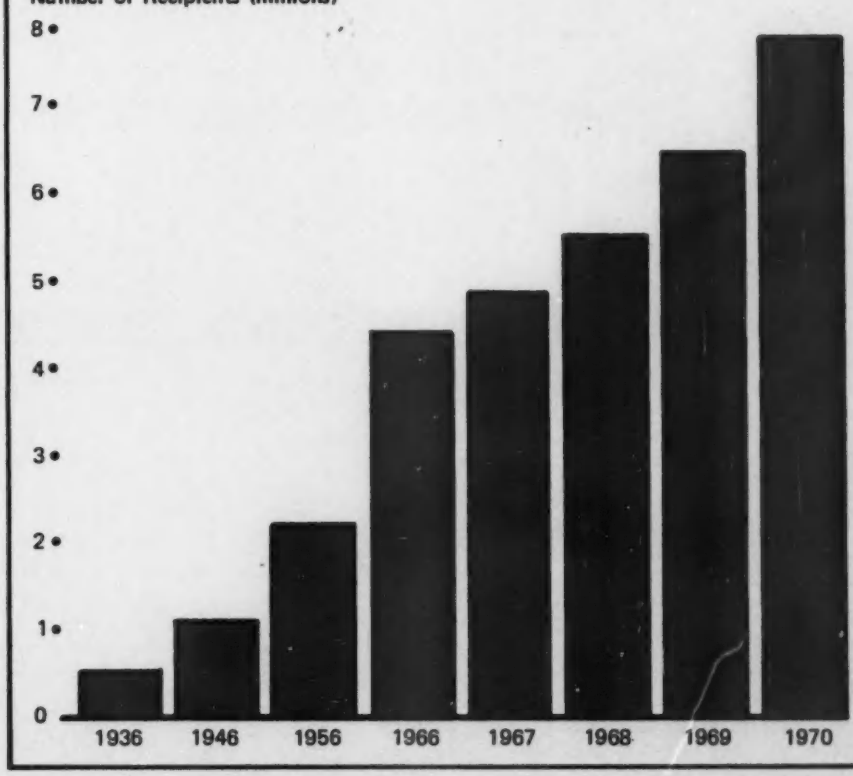
Another preventive effort recommended is helping fathers in welfare families assume a responsible leadership role. In addition to the financial supplements mentioned above, such devices as channeling welfare payments through the father or encouraging joint administration of funds should be tried. Fathers, under the WIN amendments, have top priority in selection for jobs or training.

The researchers say WIN's compulsory work requirement should be retained even though they believe it cannot be justified economically. They contend that the low productivity and undependability of compulsory labor—costs borne by the employer—and the cost of publicly sponsored child care exceed the cost of welfare. But the compulsory work requirement, already part of the new WIN Program, has a salutary effect on the social and intellectual development of the individuals it affects. It also gives encouragement to mothers who are "modernizing."

Compulsory work is not recommended for thoroughly traditionalist women, the researchers say. The cultural break would be too difficult for these women and too expensive for society. Enforcement of a work requirement against strong cultural resistance can create martyrs and build

Chart 1

Number of Recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children



social tension, especially as it discriminates by economic level.

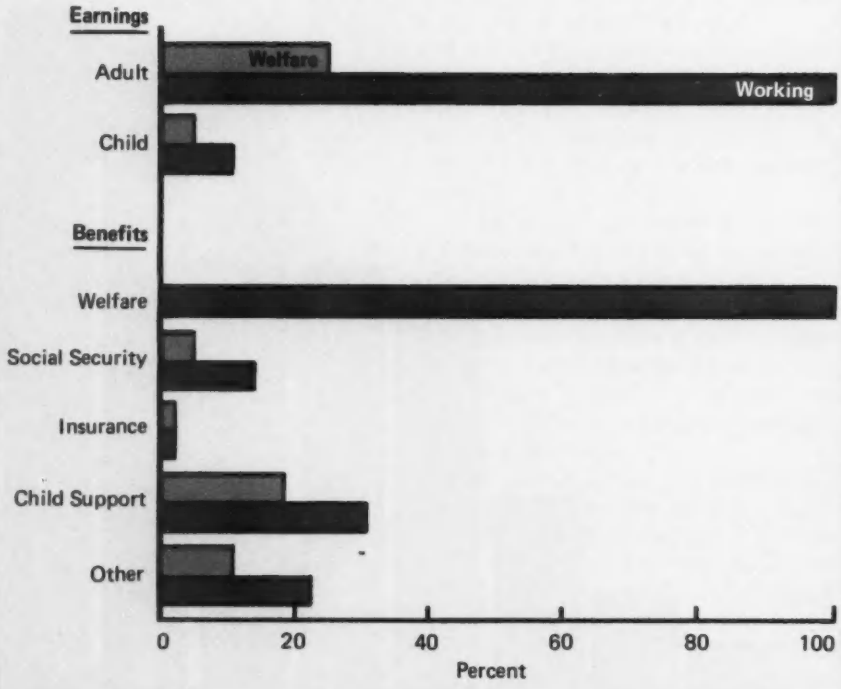
Compulsory work, to be effective, must contribute to the mother's self-development, the study points out. The tasks and setting must promote modernizing. Domestic service, for example, does not ordinarily contribute to this end.

The researchers say that there is a popular misconception that people must choose "between work and welfare." Actually, work and welfare are not mutually exclusive and often go hand in hand. Frequently welfare mothers have earnings, especially as they approach the point of terminating welfare dependence. And, conversely, women with low-paying jobs can apply for supplementation by welfare.

Further, "work and welfare" are not the only two sources of income for these women. The researchers found that some of the women have inheritances, funds from their families, pensions, appreciation of securities, interest on loans, profits from miscellaneous enterprises of many kinds, rent, alimony, social security, gifts from friends, private charity, church welfare funds, and some illicit forms of income contributing to the support of their families (see chart 2).

Chart 2

Welfare and Working Mothers Reporting Income from Various Sources -- 1969



Note: The number of welfare mothers was 447; the number of working mothers was 102.

The study puts forth still another clarification. The "work versus homemaking" dichotomy, which exists in the public mind, seems to suggest that these activities are mutually exclusive. But this apparent separation does not appear when women's deeper feelings are probed, says the study. Some women prefer work, others prefer homemaking, others prefer to do both, and still others would avoid both in exchange for leisure.

The belief that there must be a choice obscures perception of shifts between work and home at different stages of the life cycle, or—for some women—at different moments in the present stage of their life cycle. Also not to be obscured are the possibilities of remunerative work options integrated with the home, or with home-type services that could be offered at the workplace.

The researchers point out that the factors that bring welfare mothers to applying for public assistance—their responsibility for young children and their inability to earn income—when reversed are the factors that promote labor force participation.

Thus, the way to help mothers leave welfare and take jobs, they say, is to reverse these forces, or allow natural circumstances to reverse them. In other words, job training, child care, and car pools can be provided. And it is also fruitful simply to allow time for small children to grow up.

The study found the "reversal" approach works best for modernist women who are strongly motivated toward an active role in the workaday world but not so well for traditionalists. For them it is better to set up financially productive activity in the home or reestablish the husband as family provider. □

☆ U.S. Government Printing Office: 1973—512-312/1

R&D Reports

Following is a selected list of reports on research and development projects funded by the Manpower Administration. Copies of reports designated NTIS are available from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va. 22151 for 95 cents for microfiche or for the price given in the individual listing for a paper copy. Send remittance with order and specify accession number (PB plus six-digit number). For reports not designated NTIS, individual addresses are given in the listing. Special arrangements may usually be made for bulk orders.

The First Decade of Experience: A Synthesis of Manpower R&D Projects in Criminal Justice and Corrections—1963-1973

Reviews and analyzes the Manpower Administration's experience to date in criminal justice and correctional projects. Presents a broad base of research and development knowledge for use in developing manpower programs for the criminal offender, under following headings: (1) Brief history of the projects; (2) some issues related to assessing project success; (3) overview of the project participant; (4) providing the offender with a job skill; (5) placing and maintaining the offender in employment; (6) program assessment and development. Includes a comprehensive bibliography. NTIS (PB 220081). $3.

Youth and the Meaning of Work

Study of how a select group of youth (graduating college seniors) perceive and feel about work. Sample composed of 1,860 male and female members of the class of 1972 at five Pennsylvania colleges. Findings of the study suggest that the work ethic is neither dead nor dying; rather, a work ethic is emerging that places much greater demand on work, while at the same time de-emphasizing the importance of money, power, and prestige. NTIS (PB 217360). $6.

Occupational Licensing and Public Policy

Study investigated licensing in the construction trades, health services, other service occupations, and transportation. Information obtained through interviews with licensing officials, vocational educators, union officials, officers of occupational associations, employers, and licensing applicants. For each occupational field, answers were sought to the following questions: Who does the licensing? What are the requirements for licensing? How is competency tested? What happens if an applicant fails? What happens if a person licensed in one jurisdiction moves to another area? NTIS (PB 213055). $6.

Productive Employment of the Disadvantaged: Guidelines for Action: An Operating Manual

Project surveyed and synthesized a large number of company experiences in recruiting, hiring, training, and upgrading disadvantaged persons, to identify practices that have proved most successful. Report discusses the following: (1) Company involvement in manpower development programs; (2) planning for participation; (3) recruiting, screening, and hiring; (4) entry-level job training; (5) orienting supervisors; (6) support services; (7) conducting upgrading programs; (8) forming a consortium. NTIS (PB 217124). $6.

Achieving Manpower Goals Through More Effective Employer Services Programs

Report on a project to design and test innovative methods of increasing the volume and quality of jobs listed with the employment service. Contains a description of the problem; steps taken to solve it; the employer services model that was developed; the quantitative and qualitative results of the demonstration; the implications for new policy and program directions; and a discussion of areas requiring further research and experimentation. NTIS (PB 220165). $6.75.

Supported Employment Project: Phase I

The Pioneer Messenger Service, operated through this project, is an experiment in the employment of persons considered unemployable because of their work histories, and backgrounds of drug addiction, incarceration, or alcoholism. Pioneer's intent is to overcome two obstacles encountered in ordinary rehabilitation efforts: The difficulties of ex-addicts and ex-offenders in finding and maintaining steady employment and job advancement; and the high cost and sole reliance on public funds which rehabilitation programs face. This is a report of Phase I activities. NTIS (PB 214575). $4.85.

Handbook of Information Relevant to Manpower Agencies

Guidance to manpower service delivery agencies is offered in three areas: Internal agency structure and operations; agency-company relations; and agency-enrollee relations. Developed primarily for agency administrators, their supervisory staff, and program planners who organize and develop training for agency staff. Useful for introducing novices to operational problems and procedures. NTIS (PB 214394). $10.60.

Changing Schedules of Work: Patterns and Implications

Study examined the theories, issues, alternatives, and interactions involved when workweeks are revised and work schedules are flexible, and analyzed what has been learned about their effects upon the individual worker, his family, employers and the employing establishment, and the labor force. NTIS (PB 219117). $5.45.

The Health-Impaired Miner Under the Black Lung Legislation

Reviews the administration of the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 with respect to coal workers' pneumoconiosis (black lung) and analyzes the results in terms of the legislative objectives. NTIS (PB 214542). $6.

Program Evaluation and Project Management: A Study of Information Systems in Manpower Program Administration

Study sought to determine if evaluations of manpower programs ask the right questions to produce information that program managers could use to remedy discovered deficiencies. Three programs in Utah were studied: The Work Sample component of a vocational rehabilitation program; a Public Service Careers program; and a Skills Center. Managers were asked about their views on the most important goals of these programs, how they were accomplished, how progress was measured, and how they would use needed but unavailable information. Available from the Office of Research and Development, Division of Research and Development Utilization, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 100, 1111 20th Street, NW., Washington, D.C. 20210.

Manpower Services in the Workplace

Outlines a program through which a State employment service, using existing resources, can provide employers and their workers with a broad range of technical services in order to improve productivity and make work more tolerable. Report is based on observations and analysis by a team of participant-observers of a Manpower Development and Training Act project operated by the Ohio Bureau of Employment Security. NTIS (PB 220136). $6.75.

Guidelines for Installing and Maintaining an Effective Employer Services Program Locally

A thorough discussion of the major issues confronting all employment service local offices in their efforts to increase placements. Sections of the report are: Staff training; controlling and coordinating local office activities; public relations activities; employer information; job development information; selecting key employers to contact; and the delivery of employer services. NTIS (PB 220166). $5.45.

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